

Behind the Headlines:

Some Further Reflections—I

By JAY LOVESTONE

FOR nearly two years, I have adhered to what I call the theory of the expanding Axis. But the expanding Axis has its own inherent contradictions. Stalin made two fatal miscalculations in his strategy leading him to the pact with Hitler. The first miscalculation—and this one Hitler shared with him—was that if the two dictators would sign the pact, the Allies would, for the time being, yield to all their demands. The second mistake was that Stalin never calculated with the possibility, let alone probability, of a lightning German success, of a knockout blow being dealt by the Nazi Reich. What Stalin figured was the following: Most likely, the war between both imperialist camps would take a long time and would result either in a stalemate or in a formal victory for one side or the other. That would mean that both sides would be extremely worn out and he could then collect all sorts of pieces in Europe and Asia. This was his minimum program.

On the other hand, Stalin also had a maximum program. Here his perspective was that the war would be so bitter, long and destructive that any victory for either camp would be out of the question; that collapse of the capitalist social structure was certain, and then the path to "world revolution" would be wide open. In the latter instance, Stalin played with his maximum program: he would be able to march into Germany, wrap the red flag around himself, and proclaim his leadership of the "revolutionary" cause.

We would consider the latter variant infinitely more dangerous than the former, or minimum, program of Stalin. Why? It is our conviction that there is nothing further from Stalin's mind than genuine socialism and that the G.P.U. regime of Stalin is the very antithesis of genuine and democratic socialism.

However, recent events have developed a new situation. This situation reveals the germs of destruction inherent in the Stalin-Hitler pact. That doesn't mean that the pact is already a dead letter. Nor does it mean that Stalin is soon going to separate from Hitler. There is an even lesser likelihood of Stalin swinging over to the Anglo-French block at the eleventh hour. Nonetheless, the lightning blows struck by Hitler on the western front certainly must have given Stalin considerable cause for sober, sad reflection. His pact with Hitler not only precipitated the war, but, as is now obvious, put into Nazi hands several military trump cards. Here is something that Stalin didn't reckon with. Precisely to the extent that Hitler succeeds on the western front, precisely to the extent that he is able to bring France and England to their knees, does he need Russian aid less. This doesn't mean that Hitler could now let loose a Blitzkrieg on the eastern front against Russia. It does mean that Hitler needs Stalin less and Stalin, therefore, fears Hitler more. This is a new and significant element in the swiftly changing world situation.

MILITARY CONSERVATISM AND NAZI BLITZKRIEG

OBVIOUSLY, the Allied General Staff was completely surprised at the force and fury of the German onslaught. How could such a situation come to pass? How could such mighty military "geniuses" like Gamelin and Company make such suicidal errors?

All military men tend to be conservative, not only in their attitude towards social and political questions, but even towards military technique. Military men, because of the very nature of their profession, cling to and tend to become slaves of a number of set dogmas, a number of principles that have been developed down thru the ages, beginning with the Roman warriors, who are their pioneer models.

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An Appeal to Members of the Social-Democrat Federation

In Demanding War, S.D.F. Leaders Join Plot Against Youth

By BERTRAM D. WOLFE

ON May 16, 1940, the Social-Democratic Federation urged this country to enter into the European war. The decision was taken by a council of your leaders, like Algernon Lee and Abe Cahane, who thereby join the conspiracy of the old men against the youth and the future of humanity. Theirs was largely the responsibility for aiding the old men of the ruling class of the preceding generation to dictate the harsh peace of Versailles, to crush the German revolution, to pave the way for Hitler Germany and for the second world war which is a renewal of the first. Their way is the way of support of one of the warring camps against the other. Their way is not the way of international solidarity across all frontiers, not the way of fraternization, not the way of permanent peace thru the unity of the German masses and the French masses and the British masses against Hitler and Reynaud and Churchill, not the way of guaranteeing the right of self-determination of Norwegians and Danes and Belgians and Irishmen and Syrians and Indians thru a Socialist United States of Europe and a free world. Their way is the way of supporting one ruling class against another, the way of a new Versailles and a new decay of Europe, a new destruction and a new crop of more bloody and ruthless dictatorships, and then a new war once more—an endless perspective of war, decay, brutalization, crisis, until the very foundations have been destroyed upon which a better social order might be built.

The one hope for humanity is to stop the spread of war; their aim is to extend it. The one duty of every American socialist to this country and to war-torn Europe is to keep America out of the war, to prevent dictatorship here at home, to extend democracy and to give aid, not of our government to the warring governments in either camp, but of our people to the war-ridden peoples of both camps so that this time they may put a socialist end to the war and get control of their own destinies and reorganize Europe on a federated, free, socialist basis. The day America enters the war is the day of dictatorship here in America, the day of spread of war and ruin, the day of destroying the hope of preserving America's limited democracy and of extending it, the day of crushing the hope that we may truly aid the forces opposed to the war in Germany, in France, in England, in Russia, in all the warring and near-warring lands.

Your Fight Is On Another Front

You young men, who will be called upon to murder, to fight and to die in a cause that is not your own, can you any longer support the Social-Democratic Federation or belong to it after this decision? Can you support a party which aids the war machine and helps to spread the war? Can you follow those leaders of yours, who, using the phrases of socialism, oppose everything for which it stands? Let the Lees and the Cahans support the ruling class openly in this war as they did covertly

in the last. Let them do the fighting if they will. You must save your courage and energy for another fight: the fight for peace, democracy and socialism, in all the warring lands, and first of all in our own land, where your own main responsibility lies. The job of defeating Hitler is the task of underground Germany, and we can only help by keeping free of our own ruling class, and of those responsible for the "peace" of Versailles, responsible for the conditions which begot the Hitlers in Germany, for the conditions which prevented the spread of the socialist revolution from Russia to central and western Europe, and caused the isolation and degeneration of the Soviet regime. Here, too, the responsibility of the Cahans and Lees is great. The bloody crimes of Stalin against the Russian Revolution were made possible by the prior crimes of these men against it in its hour of desperate need of international support.

We do not make this appeal to you in a partisan or factional spirit. Your fate and the fate of our people, and of the peoples of Europe and Asia and Africa, is at stake. Join us of the Independent Labor League, if you will, in our struggle to keep America out of war. Or join the Socialist Party. Or join the Youth Committee Against War or the Keep America Out of War Congress. Or else organize independently and then affiliate with the International Workers Front Against War, formed by the I.L.P. of England, the P.S.O.P. of France, the Independent Socialists of Germany and other organizations in many lands. But make a clean break now with these war-mongers, with these leaders who in your name are proposing to sacrifice another generation as they helped to sacrifice the last.

The first principle of socialism is that capitalism breeds war as the clouds bring rain. The second principle is independence from your own ruling class. The third principle is that the struggle against totalitarianism and the struggle against war begin at home. The fourth principle is that the main enemy of each working class is its own ruling class; the main friend, the working class of every other land. We, like the German people and the French people and the British people, must still look for the main enemy at home.

World Solidarity Only Way Out

There is no way out of this war but the way of international solidarity. There is no road to permanent peace but the road of socialism. In the course of the present war, working together in comradeship, we must find that road. For you, comrades of the Social-Democratic Federation, the first step is a break with the war-mongers who have presumed to offer you up on the altar of imperialist war in the name of socialism. Let the world know that they do not speak in your name. Let them know that the banner of socialism and solidarity is still flying. You will thus give fresh courage to others, and help to rally the millions around that banner who, in the course of the present war, under fire and wading thru blood and dirt, must find the way out of the social jungle and into a warless world.

Flanders Battle Decisive for Nazi Plans

Britain Sets Up Full War Dictatorship

Government Gets Absolute Power Over Industry, Labor and People During War

London, England
Complete dictatorial power was placed into the hands of the British government last week by a sweeping Emergency Powers Defense bill, rushed thru Parliament and enacted into law in less than three hours on Wednesday, May 22. This law, without precedent in English history, gave the government the power to conscript and use at its discretion every person, every piece of property and every penny in the realm. The bill virtually abolished, for the duration of the war at least, all of the democratic rights and liberties of the British Constitution; in effect, it inducted every person in the kingdom into the armed forces, subject to absolute authoritarian control from above.

The bill, presented by the Churchill coalition cabinet and sponsored in the House of Commons by Laborite Clement Attlee, in his capacity as deputy leader of the House and member of the inner war cabinet, was adopted by an almost unanimous vote, altho protests and objections were voiced by some of the Labor back-benchers. It extended for two years and enlarged the emergency powers given the government last August.

The measure provides: Full governmental control over all industry, agriculture and commerce, with absolute powers to direct and control production and fix prices.

Complete power to draft, direct and allocate labor as may seem necessary to the authorities. Absolute government control of wages, hours and working conditions. All trade-union agreements and protective labor legislation may be scrapped by the government at a moment's notice.

A 100% tax on "excess profits," which means that in theory no firm will be permitted to make more profit than it did in time of peace.

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Stalin Assassins Attack Trotsky

Mexico City, D. F.
LEON TROTSKY had a narrow escape from death last week when about twenty men, disguised as Mexican policemen, broke into his house early in the morning and sprayed his bedroom with machine-gun bullets. Both Trotsky and his wife saved themselves by dropping flat on the floor. Trotsky was cut in the face by flying splinters of glass. His grandson, Sergei Sedov, who slept in an adjoining room, was slightly wounded in the foot by a bullet. Sheldon Harte, a New Yorker, one of Trotsky's bodyguards, was missing, perhaps carried off by the assassins.

The assassins, Trotsky stated, were agents of the Russian secret police sent by Stalin to murder him. This view was shared by General Jose Manuel Nun, chief of Mexican police, who took personal charge of the investigation.

George Mink, notorious American Stalinist and G.P.U. agent, was sought for complicity in the attempted assassination.

Hillman Hits War Menace To Labor Laws

Calls for Unity in Labor's Ranks; A.C.W. Parley Urges Negotiations Be Resumed

New York City
A warning that labor would fight any attempt to emasculate labor and progressive legislation under the guise of aiding "national defense" was voiced last week by Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, in an address to the twenty-fifth anniversary convention of that organization, now holding its second week's sessions here. The A.C.W., which has a membership of 260,000, is affiliated with the C.I.O.

"We want the country to meet any kind of eventuality," he said, "but we will oppose those elements who, under the mask of national defense, will try to emasculate and destroy the progressive legislation that has been brought forth."

"There are voices heard that the wages and hours law is interfering with national defense. Think of it. Millions of workers unemployed, looking for an opportunity for employment, and there are some who dare raise their voices to abolish the law setting a ceiling for hours because it might interfere with production."

"It is important for labor to make its position clear. We will do our share and more than others who raise their voices at this time, to cooperate with the proper program for national defense."

"Part of national defense, probably the major part of our national defense, is a vital, well-protected

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House Passes Billion Dollar Relief Bill

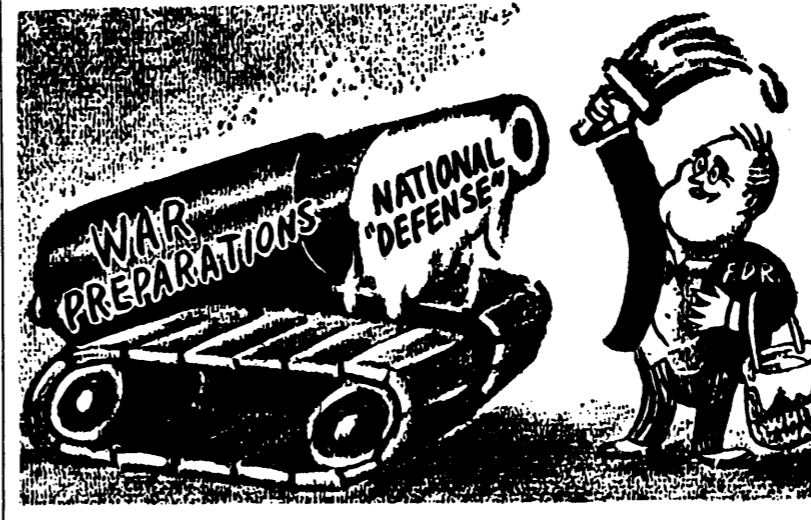
W.P.A. Fund \$975,650,000 For 8 Months; Communists, Nazis Barred from Rolls

Washington, D. C.
By a vote of 354 to 21 the House of Representatives passed and sent to the Senate last week the \$1,111,754,916 relief bill for the next fiscal year, containing a \$975,650,000 W.P.A. fund which may be spent in eight months. On that basis, the fund will care for an average of 1,950,000 persons a month.

Of the many amendments offered to the measure, one, requested by Representative Jed Johnson of Oklahoma, struck out the Appropriations Committee proposal that the federal contribution to any W.P.A. construction project could not exceed \$50,000. The second, offered by Representative Walter of Pennsylvania, prohibited employment of communists and members of Nazi organizations on W.P.A. projects and required affidavits from applicants that they were neither.

Other approved amendments included one increasing the allocation of funds for federal buildings from \$20,000,000 to \$40,000,000 and another providing that W.P.A. workers without dependents be limited to 65 hours work a month instead of the 130 hours required generally, with earnings thus cut to half.

PRETTY THIN WHITEWASH!



Armaments Drive Perils All Labor Legislation

Wage-Hour, Walsh-Healy, Wagner Acts In Immediate Danger of Destruction

Washington, D. C.
The "emergency defense" program launched by President Roosevelt in his special message to Congress recently is already looming as a grave menace to the most important pieces of labor legislation gained in the course of the New Deal since 1933.

Demands have already been voiced in official quarters that laws protecting wage-hour standards and collective-bargaining rights be "modified" or "suspended" in the interests of "national defense." The main attack, however, will not come until after the elections, it is said here.

Army and navy officials are cooperating with their allies in Congress in the assault on labor, this time with the general approval of the White House.

The attack is being made on the ground that protective labor legislation must be relaxed in order to speed up the "national-defense" program.

Simultaneously, there is a drive

by the same forces to relax profit curbs on industries manufacturing materials for the armed forces.

These developments are a culmination of the long history of anti-labor activities by the hierarchy in the War and Navy Departments.

The two departments have always been closely identified with the big-business lobby which, in turn, never fails to lend a helping hand when army-navy appropriation bills are pending.

An example of anti-labor activities by the War and Navy Departments is their bitter opposition to the Walsh-Healy Act, requiring the Secretary of Labor to establish wage-and-hour levels for all workers on government contracts. It is no secret that War and Navy Department representatives lobbied vigorously against the passage of this act.

The Navy Department's opposition to labor came into the open a few

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Strike a Blow Against War—Back Thomas for President

THESE are indeed times that try men's souls! The country is being driven headlong towards the abyss of war and disaster by the powers-that-be in Washington, by the Roosevelt Administration, and above all by Mr. Roosevelt himself, who no longer makes much of an effort to disguise his intentions. Taking advantage of the burning hatred of the American people for the European dictators and the widespread alarm in this country at Hitler's stunning victories, the war party is deliberately trying to whip up confusion and panic among the masses, under cover of which they hope to be able to lead, drag or drive the United States into the war.

Already, a three billion dollar super-armaments program, that has meaning only in terms of participation in a foreign war, has been launched by the Administration. Already "suspension" of protective labor laws and social-welfare legislation is being hinted at. Already there is talk of "tightening up" the "loose functioning" of democracy—that is, of increasing regimentation and authoritarian control by the government, as a harbinger of the rigid military dictatorship over every aspect and phase of American life that is bound to come with war itself.

Like Wilson's New Freedom before it, the New Deal has operated on two levels—the public level of social reform and the hidden level of war preparations. But now the hidden level has risen and submerged the other. Now the New Deal is all war preparations, economic, social, moral, diplomatic and military. The Administration has lost interest in everything else owing to its consuming interest in war preparations.

Today, no one who has the true interests, the peace and welfare, of the American people at heart can lend any support to the candidacy of President Roosevelt or of any other Democratic standard-bearer he may name. Just as little is it possible to back any Republican nominee, if only because the very eagerness with which the Republican spokesmen have jumped on the "preparedness" bandwagon shows that there is no essential difference between the major parties on the crucial issue of war.

In the coming elections, there is only one Presidential candidate whom anti-war socialists, radicals or liberals can support, and he is Norman Thomas. The Norman Thomas has been put forward by the Socialist Party, it is not simply or even primarily as the candidate of that party that he deserves support but as the courageous champion of the all-important cause of keeping America out of war. Thomas is running on a genuine anti-war platform; his name has been most closely identified with the anti-war movement in recent years; and his message is a rousing call to action against war.

The political situation in the country is strange and contradictory. The great masses of the people deeply and sincerely want to keep out of war. Yet, in large numbers, they support President Roosevelt, not only because of the vivid impression that the earlier New Deal has left on the popular mind but also because they really believe, however incredible it may seem to those better acquainted with the facts, that Mr. Roosevelt is striving to keep us out of war. The need for an effective nationwide campaign of enlightenment and education is therefore pressing, and for this there is no more appropriate occasion than the Presidential elections nor a more appropriate standard-bearer than Norman Thomas. Of such a campaign the effectiveness will not be measured simply or primarily by the vote obtained.

We earnestly call upon every working man and working woman, every friend of labor, every socialist, radical or liberal who realizes the dreadful catastrophe that involvement in war would mean for the American people, to vote for Norman Thomas and take an active part in his campaign.

Reich Must Deal Quick Blow to Win

Air Assault on Britain Next Step; Allied Chance of Victory Rises With Longer War

On Flanders Fields a battle that may prove a decisive as that of the Marne in 1914 raged fiercely all last week, the thirty-eighth week of the war, as gigantic armies, numbering millions, locked in a death grapple. The Germans drove hard to complete their enveloping movement and the Allies made a mighty effort to cut the German salient to the Channel coast and reestablish ground contact with the armies to the North that had been encircled by the swiftly moving Nazi mechanized units. The outcome of the battle remained in doubt as the week closed, and even its changing fortunes were hidden in the dense fog and confusion of censorship and conflicting reports.

It appeared certain, however, that the Allies had definitely succeeded in organizing and launching a systematic counter-offensive with the general purpose of freeing the British and French forces bottled up in northern France by the German thrust to the Channel. Allied communiques indicated considerable success in these efforts. The Germans, on the other hand, claimed to have reached Boulogne and Calais on the Channel opposite southeastern England, and to have consolidated their grip on a considerable portion of the Channel coast.

In both the Allied countries, energetic measures were taken to increase fighting power. In England, drastic emergency legislation created a complete war-time dictatorship, giving the government absolute power over everything. (This development is reported in full in another column on this page.—Editor) The authorities also moved to short-circuit "Fifth Column" activities by arresting leaders of the Mosley fascist organization. Arrests of oppositional, anti-war elements in the labor movement, while not yet reported, were feared to be imminent. In France, after the replacement of Gamelin by Weygand as generalissimo of the Allied forces, Premier Reynaud undertook a thoro house-cleaning in the army, leaving a trail of official heads behind him, with at least fifteen generals removed from their posts. The country's plight, he said, was due to "unbelievable faults which will be punished." The premier stressed that the classic French conception of war had been demolished by the new Nazi tactics employing armored divisions, artillery planes and the disorganization of the rear by parachutists.

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MAIN LINES OF STRATEGY

The final outbreak of total war with the invasion of the Low Lands brought clearly into focus the fundamental fact that all the weeks of stagnation on the western front had been spent by the German High Command in maneuvering for position in order to prepare a series of lightning blows and bring the war to a quick conclusion.

Britain and France from the first had geared themselves to a long war. They sought to hold Hitler back of the Maginot Line while gradually developing their own powers for an offensive later on. The basic strategy called for a blockade to drain German resources, for defense while the blockade was going into effect, then for attack when Germany was weakened. The Allies banked on time and their superior, not the fully mobilized, resources to produce eventual victory.

The eventual goal of German strategy, geared to constant movement and action, was a knock-out blow directed at Great Britain, counter-blockade being stressed even more than actual invasion. Everything was staked on a grand smash in the West. Before undertaking that smash, the German High Command did three things: (1) secured the southern flank by an agreement with Italy; (2) secured the rear by an agreement with Russia; (3) cleared a possible threat by destroying Poland; (4) protected the northern flank by conquering Norway; and (5) closed the western border with the Westwall.

These things accomplished, the Germans turned to their main task. As it has begun to take shape, the German plan was this: First, to clear Holland, which has already been accomplished; second, to push thru Belgium to the coast; third, to break the so-called Little Maginot Line, thereby flanking the main defensive line of France; fourth, to push into France if that could be accomplished, seeking to deal a decisive blow there; and fifth, to hold the

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Machine Politics Rife in Maryland "Free State"

By RICHARD GREEN

Baltimore, Md. MARYLAND has just gone thru a primary election, that grand old American institution. Both parties nominated their candidates for the 1940 elections and for their state conventions, where delegates to the national conventions will be chosen. Out of this series of nominations and elections will come part of the vote going to the respective candidates in the national race for President. This is a most auspicious year, since Presidential ambitions can be found at the rate of a dime a dozen.

A ONE-PARTY STATE

The Republicans went along rather peacefully ignored. They selected the candidates for the different offices and gave an eight-to-one majority to Thomas E. Dewey as the Republican nominee for President. This is of small significance as the Republicans haven't been very much of a power in this state for many years. I believe they went out with Reconstruction after the Civil War. It is most enlightening to know that Maryland is still proud (at least many leading citizens are) that the sympathies of its people were decidedly with the slave states in 1861, altho the state was officially aligned with the North, due to military pressure and occupation by the Washington government. Be that as it may, most of the Maryland population continues to think of the American political system as a one-party government, namely, the Democratic party.

The Democratic party in Baltimore and in the state generally is machine-run. Every once in a while, the machine starts to develop internal frictions. The desire for monopoly is just as dominant in politics as in economics. Free competition has become such a bore and a hindrance. Too many groups with too many different ideas are too confusing for the average citizen. The desire for totalitarian symmetry is always with us—especially with the politicians of our day and age. And so the recent years in Maryland have brought forth primary campaigns which have been slam-bang affairs from start to finish. The respective opponents tell all and get their dirty linen washed right out in the broad, open daylight. Each side does a

magnificent job on the other. And then, lo and behold, when it's all over, they kiss and make up, requesting the public to support the particular scoundrel who won the nomination. Peace, it's wonderful!

THE 1938 "PURGE" AND AFTER

With these preliminaries on American political science, let's get on with the story. The citizens of this nation may remember way back in 1938 the famous attempt of President Roosevelt to purge the nation of those Democratic villains who refused to go along with the complete New Deal program. Maryland was the scene of an attempted purge. F.D.R. was out to get rid of Tory Millard E. Tydings, son-in-law of former Ambassador Davies to Russia. It is also rumored that Bethlehem Steel has a first mortgage on the gentleman. His main sin in the eyes of Roosevelt was his revolt against the court-packing scheme. A grand old man of politics was chosen to run against Tydings, Congressman Davy Lewis. The latter is really one of the few pure-in-hearts of American politics. Mr. Roosevelt went so far as to make a personal visit to the shores of Maryland to speak in behalf of his candidate. But it was no soap. Mr. Tydings, with the great battle-cry of States Rights, repulsed the invading hordes of Yankee barbarians and was re-nominated and re-elected to the Senate of the United States by a great majority. And so beloved Davy Lewis was given up as a sacrificial lamb to the moneyed interests of Millard E. Tydings and Howard Bruce.

Permit a digression to take note of the aforementioned Mr. Bruce. He is wealthy beyond the expectations of any of us lowly creatures. Connected with many banking and trust institutions as well as industrial firms, his name is usually associated with one of the biggest bank failures in the city of Baltimore, back in 1933. While thousands lost their savings in the general collapse of American banking, it is said that Mr. Bruce got out with his whole skin and still paraded around as a great citizen of the Free State. The underlying populace can never forgive him for this bank failure. He is also a National Committeeman of the Democratic party and considered quite a politi-

cian. While backing Tydings in '38, he was also able to put over his man Friday, Herbert O'Connor, for governor, thus practically dominating the state political machine for good old vested interests and Mr. Bruce. But this is not the whole story since Mr. Bruce was also building his own political fences.

WHEN THIEVES FALL OUT . . .

Now 1940 has come along and another important election year faces the Maryland citizenry. The junior member of the Senatorial partnership now comes up for reelection. George L. Radcliffe, the present incumbent, was once a devout New Dealer—so he claims. But please remember back in that '38 purgeless campaign, this gentleman appeared as the campaign manager of his senior partner in the Senate, Mr. Tydings, and rendered valiant service to the grand old cause of States Rights. Mr. Bruce, the power behind the throne, now steps to the front and throws his hat into the ring for the Senatorial nomination to buck Mr. Radcliffe. Immediately, Mr. Tydings dashes to the side of Radcliffe to repel the attempt of Bruce to become top kingly in the political life of Maryland. Mr. Tydings, of course, has his eye on the national Democratic convention; he is even suspected of seriously thinking of the Presidential nomination, or if not that, perhaps, of the vice-presidency (after all, there have been occasions of Presidents dying in office). And so Tydings rallies not only his own machine but teams up with the Baltimore city forces of Mayor Jackson, who has his own personal grudge against Mr. Bruce since the latter's man, O'Connor, licked him in the governorship in '38. Meanwhile, Governor O'Connor rushes to the defense of Bruce, his political paymaster, and so the battle is on.

Radcliffe slams Bruce as unfit to wear the Senatorial mantle, while Bruce does likewise to Radcliffe. After listening to the candidates for the Democratic nominations, one is convinced that they are both rascals and that those who are backing them are worse rascals. They do an excellent job on each other, and incidentally, they do an even better job of exposing the rotten mess of politics existing under our great democratic system. That Radcliffe lacks Bruce is of secondary importance. After all, Bruce will never live down, in the eyes of the masses, the story that he knew about the bank failures before they occurred in '33 and escaped with all of his shekels intact, while the poor people took the rap. Of major importance is that both factions team up and go out to the people urging them to send back to the Senate one of these scoundrels to act in behalf of the people's interest. And the sad part is that the people do.

ENTER LABOR

One should not ignore the role of the labor movement in this political mess. After all, this is the period of labor's coming of age—politically speaking. Anyway, that's what John L. Lewis is saying these days and you know who he is. In 1938, all labor, with the C.I.O. and the Stalinites in the fore, was pretty much down on Tydings and pretty much up on Roosevelt. In spite of because of the great assistance received from the C.I.O. and the C.P., while the A. F. of L. took a silent, hands-off position, Davy Lewis lost and Mr. Tydings went back to Washington for six more years in the interests of Bethlehem Steel and other assorted industrial giants. This year, the C.I.O. played the role of the proverbial chameleon, changing colors to suit the changing environment. They were both for and against and neutral on all candidates and all things. The C.I.O. was neutral on the Radcliffe-Bruce fight, but one could detect various individuals very close to the C.I.O. or part of it playing a leading role in the campaign for Radcliffe. The Brotherhood of Trainmen was partly responsible for this, as they openly endorsed the Radcliffe candidacy. At the same time, the C.I.O. supported for reelection to Congress a man by the name of Thomas D'Alesandro, mainly on the basis of his opposition to the Norton amendments to the Wagner Act. The fact that D'Alesandro was part and parcel of the Bruce ticket was very conveniently overlooked since, you see, the C.I.O. was still neutral on the Senatorial fight. It is very amusing to note that one of the leading labor politicians in Baltimore made a determined effort to get D'Alesandro to break with the reactionary Bruce ticket. The answer of D'Alesandro was the usual one of a politician: "In my district, Bruce gets the votes while Radcliffe doesn't."

It is also interesting to note that that renowned policy organization of labor, Labor's Non-Partisan League, became so excited about the D'Alesandro campaign that a special man was sent in to protect labor's interests and see to it that this champion of the working man got

back into the House. Their leaflets were unusual examples of idealism and humanitarianism. The L.N.P.L. appealed to the public to support D'Alesandro for "Roosevelt and Humanity." (Some of us thought of this heart-stirring appeal as a slogan if and when the Man in the White House decides to put us over there.) When questioned about supporting Roosevelt in relation to John L. Lewis's attack on the President, the answer was: "Oh, don't you know there is a factional fight in the L.N.P.L. The Hillman-Oliver group is supporting Roosevelt, and the Lewis group is not." So you see Baltimore has been saved from Lewis on the Roosevelt issue. D'Alesandro got reelected and you can now bet your boots that when the chips are down, Mr. D'Alesandro will know which side of his bread the butter is on—C.I.O. or no C.I.O. Meanwhile, the A. F. of L. was having its own tempest in a teapot. Part of the Federation openly backed Bruce while some sections came out for Radcliffe. The newspapers made very effective use of this further split in the House of Labor. The Teamsters especially took up the cudgels for Radcliffe and publicly repudiated the announced position taken by the Executive Committee of the Maryland Federation of Labor, which was in support of the candidacy of Howard Bruce, a most eminent champion of organized labor, as we have already indicated.

WELL, ANYWAY, JOHNSON IS NOMINATED

Now that the fighting is over, and the Democrats are all set to take the state, labor has folded up and drifted silently away. After all, it is not important who gets elected. It seems to be more important to influence the two major parties thru the primaries and get men on the ticket who are friendly to labor—and who isn't? It is a very sad spectacle of labor's muddled and puny role in American politics. Well, old Walter Johnson got the Republican nomination for Congress in Western Maryland, and that may be some consolation to America's baseball fans. If you can't get labor in, then the next best thing is to get someone who doesn't know anything about politics and knows he doesn't know. At least, Johnson was one of the greatest pitchers of all time. And it just goes to prove that, in the end, under the American system of democracy, merit and ability shall be rewarded. Hallelujah!

Armaments Drive Endangers Labor, Social Legislation

Wage-Hour, Walsh-Healy, Wagner Acts in Immediate Peril

(Continued from Page 1) days ago when Captain C. W. Fisher, director of the naval shore establishments, appeared before the House Naval Affairs Committee to recommend that the minimum-wage and maximum-hours provision of the Walsh-Healey Act be set aside in favor of the Fair Labor Standards Act.

In other words, Captain Fisher was urging that a steel company now compelled to pay more than 60 cents an hour under the Walsh-Healy Act be governed instead by the wage-hour law calling for a minimum wage of 30 cents an hour.

Fisher also asked for legislation to make government contracts "more attractive to private industry." He suggested that the navy be allowed to negotiate contracts instead of submitting them to competitive bidding and to advance 35% of contract prices for construction. He also urged modification of the law limiting shipyard profits to 10%.

As another reason for making labor work longer hours, the army and navy are complaining that a shortage of machinists may slow the war-preparedness programs and production of planes for foreign governments. The machinists union points out, however, that it has on record the names and addresses of 17,000 trained and unemployed machinists.

The Navy Department has submitted the draft of a bill embodying its recommendations to the House Naval Affairs Committee, where it is sponsored by Chairman Vinson.

One section of the bill provides that the 10% profit limitation of the Vinson-Trammell Act on all contracts in excess of \$10,000 be modified to apply only to contracts of \$25,000 or more.

There is also considerable talk here that the "rigid" enforcement of the Wagner Act might prove a "danger to national defense." Some move against it is expected soon from this direction.

Mr. Hillman also made a strong appeal for unity in the labor movement on the peace negotiations between the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. In his remarks, he said plainly that he regarded John L. Lewis's refusal to continue these negotiations as a mistake. The unity talks should be resumed immediately, he concluded.

The convention delegates broke out in enthusiastic demonstration at Mr. Hillman's words. A resolution calling for the resumption of negotiations was adopted unanimously, despite Mr. Lewis's oft-repeated declaration that further conferences would be "useless."

Mr. Hillman stated in his address that the A.C.W. had no intention of quitting the C.I.O. and that he believed the A. F. of L. was responsible for the original split in the ranks of labor. He also set forth his conviction that some progress toward the adjustment of the differences between C.I.O. and A. F. of L. had been made before negotiations were broken off by Mr. Lewis, altho no peace terms fully satisfactory to the C.I.O. had been offered.

"The ranks of labor's enemies are not divided. They have taken advantage of our disunity to sharpen their attack against all of the legislative and organizational achievements which we have realized since 1933. Only a strong and united labor movement can guarantee the preservation of these achievements and assure the realization of labor's full program for itself and the nation."

labor was determined to protect its rights and standards. The odds are heavy against labor, however, because of the increasing tendency of Congress to concentrate solely on military measures.

(Read the editorial, "What Labor's End of the Armament Drive Will Be," on page 3.—Editor.)

Hillman Warns Against Menace to Labor Laws

Appeals for Unity in Labor Movement

(Continued from Page 1) and contented population in our country. Those who are trying to undermine the welfare of labor are no friends of national defense."

term for President Roosevelt was adopted unanimously at an early session during the week.

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A resolution calling for a third

Let's Turn a Deaf Ear To All War Propaganda

(These paragraphs are from an editorial from the May 10, 1940 issue of the Trades Union News, published in Philadelphia under the authority of the Central Labor Union of Philadelphia and Vicinity.—Editor.)

AGAIN we are being told that it is "American duty" to become involved in the European war. Professor James T. Shotwell of Columbia demands a "grand alliance" between this country, Great Britain and France, with a view to setting up a sort of super-government which would undertake to dictate to all the rest of the world.

Human history is cluttered up with stories of such "grand alliances." They didn't succeed in the past and there is little reason to believe they will succeed in the future.

The first duty of Americans is to safeguard the interests of their own people. . . . If we permit ourselves to be drawn into another foreign war, it will not be a Sunday-School picnic. Hundreds of thousands of American boys will die, and no man is wise enough to prophesy what will happen to our democratic institutions.

We should be deaf, dumb and blind to every form of propaganda intended to draw us into this catastrophic contest, and concentrate on the herculean tasks which are demanding our attention here at home.

Call Parley to Defend Progressive Furriers

Labor Political Groups Join in Appeal

New York City A conference to consider ways and means of protecting the rights of the six fur workers recently suspended from the Furriers Union of this city by the Stalinist clique in power in that organization, has been called for Tuesday, May 28, 8:00 P.M., at Beethoven Hall. The call was issued by the Labor Defense Committee for the Suspended Furriers, to which are affiliated the following organizations, representing virtually every section of the workers' political movement in the city: Socialist-Democratic Federation, Jewish Socialist Verband, Socialist Party, Independent Labor League, Left Poale Zion, Poale-Zeire Zion and the Jewish Anarchist Federation.

The call reads in part: "You are undoubtedly familiar with the fact that the Furriers Union is controlled by communists who act in the interests not of the fur workers, but of the Communist Party. The workers interests obviously suffer under such leadership and there is a widespread dissatisfaction among the rank-and-file of the Furriers Union. The administration is using every possible means to suppress the opposition and to persecute those workers who dare to disagree with the policies of the communists."

"In its repressive measures the communist administration has gone so far as to suspend from the union six fur workers for the sole reason that they openly expressed their dissatisfaction with the way things are run by the communist leadership."

"A workers committee has been formed to protest against the brutal actions of the communist administration of the Furriers Union. This committee is striving to protect the rights of the suspended furriers and to stop the attempts of the communist administration to annihilate morally and physically those workers whose political opinions differ from those of the communists."

For this purpose the organizations affiliated with this committee are calling a Workers Conference for the defense of the suspended fur workers. . . .

"We are convinced that you will appreciate the importance of this conference, which must clearly demonstrate that the organized workers cannot and will not permit such 'Moose trials' in our free and democratic America. The popular opinion of the workers must be mobilized and exerted for the protection of workers rights, which have been so brutally disregarded."

Farm Laborer At Bottom of Living Scale

Washington, D. C.

THE lot of the American farm laborer is harder, his burden of responsibility is heavier and his standard of living is the lowest of any occupational group in this country, C. Horace Hamilton of the Agricultural Department's Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare told the Senate Civil Liberties Committee last week.

"The problem of farm labor is not confined to a few commercial truck and fruit-growing areas," said Mr. Hamilton. "It is nation-wide in scope, its ramifications reach into every aspect of our national economy, and the worst of it is there is little the farm laborers, the most ambitious of them, can do about it," Mr. Hamilton said.

The farm worker's major difficulty, he went on, is an income far below the requirements of decent living and the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of adding to or supplementing that income.

"Unlike the poor man in the city, the farm worker, living in an isolated rural area, cannot easily or at all avail himself of hospital, school, library and other welfare services," Mr. Hamilton explained.

"Unlike the poor tenant or owner earning approximately the same income, he does not have the resource of land and livestock to produce his own food supply on the farm."

"Furthermore, in the busy seasons, he has little time to spend in raising a garden or tending to his cows, hogs and chickens if he had such. And, besides that, few farmers who employ labor are able and willing to supply enough land for a garden and for feed land."

"Once a system like that is set up, it is difficult to change it. The laborer, not having been trained in his youth to produce home supplies, has little inclination to do so when he is grown."

"Farmer employers, therefore, conclude that the laborer is improvident and lazy."

According to a study cited by Mr. Hamilton, the gross income of white share-croppers in 1936 was \$415 a year, with \$264 for white farm laborers and \$251 for Negroes of all tenure groups.

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What Labor's End of the Armaments Drive Will Be

AMIDST all the tumult and shouting, amidst the panic and hysteria aroused by the dreadful events in Europe and deliberately fed by inflammatory propaganda from the White House, it would be well for the American people, especially for American labor, to pause and devote a few moments to sober, serious thought.

The President is selling his super-armaments program, his three billion dollar war budget as a measure essential to national defense. And the great mass of the people, in dismay at Hitler's lightning victories in Europe, are taking him at his word. But if national defense means what the people think it means—defense against attack or invasion—then America is already well prepared for such defense. Arthur Krock, writing for that fervent advocate of super-armaments, the New York Times, a few days ago (May 15, 1940), had to confess as much, altho in a rather involved way. "It is admitted on all sides," he wrote, "that the national-defense establishment is inadequate for anything SAVE TO RESIST INVASION" (emphasis ours). That means that our present military and naval establishment is adequate to resist invasion! And virtually all military authorities have stated as much in one form or another in recent months. Yet the President does not scruple to sow panic and confusion among the people by alarmist propaganda that would disgrace any yellow journal.

The truth is that the President is not thinking in terms of defense against invasion or attack. He is thinking in terms of military participation in the European war. He talks of national defense but he means a foreign war. That is as clear as daylight.

Another thing: Labor does not seem yet to have any notion of what this "preparedness" frenzy will mean for its rights and standards. We refer to a very sober article by Raymond Clapper, certainly no alarmist or totalitarian, in the New York World-Telegram of May 18, 1940.

"One of the most troublesome questions [in arming] is likely to occur over labor," Mr. Clapper warns. "National defense cannot be left at the mercy of labor interruptions. . . . France has demonstrated how fatal that can be. . . . Some of the safeguarding legislation, so desirable in normal times, may have to be readjusted in the interest of more efficient production. . . . Labor may have to make concessions. . . ."

"We might as well face the fact that democracy must make some readjustments to protect itself. The loose functioning we have had in the last few years will be dangerous if it persists in the coming period."

These words are well worth careful pondering.

"National defense cannot be left at the mercy of labor interruptions": That means that strikes can no longer be tolerated if they affect war preparations. And since practically all industry is tied up with war preparations in one way or another, it means that organized labor will have to surrender its most precious rights, its very freedom of action, and submit to rigid overhead control by the government.

"Safeguarding legislation . . . may have to be readjusted": That means an end to wage-hour laws, to the Wagner Act, to other protective laws, the fruit of decades of hard fighting. Already, according to the press, Congressional leaders have organized a drive for "modification" of the Walsh-Healy Act to permit the President to waive the forty-hour week on government contracts. Already, Colonel Fleming has consulted with the President on "relaxing" wage-hour restrictions in the interests of "defense."

"Labor may have to make some concessions": That means lower wages, longer hours, worse conditions—all allegedly in the interests of "national defense" but actually for the sake of the foreign war that the President has in mind.

"Democracy must make some readjustments. . . . The loose functioning . . . will be dangerous": That means good-bye to democracy, to civil liberties, to popular rights. That means steadily encroaching authoritarianism and dictatorship. That means repression and regimentation everywhere.

All these things threaten as the result not of our actual involvement in war but merely of the Administration's reckless and irresponsible "preparedness" drive. It is the dark and sinister shadow that war casts before it.

And should the President succeed in leading us into war, as he is striving to do more and more openly? What would our fate be then? Let the answer be given by the recent report to the Senate presented by Senator Walsh, chairman of the Senate Naval Affairs Committee:

"If we allow ourselves to become engaged in the war in Europe, one thing is certain—the whole energies of our people, of necessity, will be ordered, regimented and directed by a single authority. Everything—man-power, industrial power, wealth, production, transportation, liberty itself—will be at the service of the government. It makes no difference by what name such a government is called; it will assume absolute power over the life of every citizen."

It is sheer folly for labor leaders to believe, as so many seem to do, that they can preserve labor's rights and standards intact in war or during war preparations just because some "pledges" are made to them in Washington or some representation given them on government boards. It can't be done. The only way to save freedom and democracy at home, the only way to preserve labor's hard-won gains of many decades, is to KEEP AMERICA OUT OF WAR and out of that mad frenzy of super-armaments that means nothing but war.

War Financing Thru Wage 'Loans' Planned

Jerome Frank Offers Keynes Plan Version

Washington, D. C. THE United States is not yet in the war, at least not officially. And, officially too, it's not supposed to get into the war—didn't President Roosevelt pledge that some months ago? Yet already the authorities in Washington are at work figuring out how we are going to finance our next war. The question is of great public importance and deserves to be more widely known and discussed than it has hitherto been.

This is especially true of the suggestions on war-financing recently made by Jerome Frank, chairman of the S.E.C., in an address before the Army War College in Washington. Mr. Frank's plan is patterned on the general outline of the plan proposed by John Maynard Keynes to finance the British war effort.

HOW THE FRANK PLAN WOULD WORK

Here are the main features of Frank's proposal. Modern war will cost the United States at least \$15,000,000,000 a year more than is now being spent for armaments.

Operating this kind of war requires not only that the government raise additional revenues thru taxes and loans, but that it also reduce civilian consumption by an equal amount. This is necessary in order that \$15,000,000,000 worth of the output of factories, mills and mines can be shifted from civilian to military uses.

The more basic of these two problems concerns the ways and means of curtailing the normal purchases of

the civilian population. To do this, the mass purchasing power, the purchasing power of the people, must be reduced—the antithesis of the New Deal's peace-time effort to raise purchasing power.

Heavy excise taxes are the simplest way of reducing consumption, taxes, especially on such items as automobiles, gasoline, household equipment and luxuries.

Consumption taxes are not enough, however. They must be supplemented by other means which effectively curtail civilian purchasing.

The immediate purpose of all such measures would be to cut \$3,000,000,000 out of the \$45,000,000,000 spent for food, clothing, household operations, and personal care; \$2,500,000,000 out of the \$5,500,000,000 spent each year in the production and use of automobiles; \$2,000,000,000 from expenditures for other durable consumers goods, mainly household machinery and furnishings; \$500,000,000 by curtailing home construction; \$2,000,000,000 from expenditures of business to make up for depreciation and the like.

These reductions would bring a total cut in consumer purchasing of approximately \$10,000,000,000—that amount of business cut off from normal channels to permit materials, factories, mills and mines to be used for the production of military supplies. Also available would be a large proportion of the amounts usually saved by individuals, estimated at more than \$10,000,000,000 in war time.

Thus, with sufficient pressure and at the cost of sufficient suffering, con-

Now Is the Time to Build Our Defenses Against War

Stronger Organization of Anti-War Forces Needed

By B. D. W.

WITH dizzying speed a war front is forming here. Because it is an election year, the mobilization is being done under cover, but one has to be blind or wilfully blinking not to notice the war games, the three billion dollar war budget, the semi-official "American White Paper," the feelers about abandoning neutrality for a pre-war state similar to Italy's "non-belligerency," the incitement speeches of the President and his aides, the united front of both parties in Congress for further emergency military, naval and air expenditures, the financing of the Allies thru gold purchases at inflated prices, the proposals to circumvent or undermine the Johnson Act, and even to repeal the neutrality ban on war loans altogether.

The bankers are supposed in popular mythology to hate Franklin D. Roosevelt. Indeed, in their overwhelming majority, they had no use for the Roosevelt of the earlier New Deal—at least not for the social-insurance and collective-bargaining features of that phase. But on May 14th, the Board of Governors of the Investment Bankers Association of America in council assembled at White Sulphur Springs, West Virginia, decided to shelve their criticism of Roosevelt's financial, budgetary, taxation, regulation and other domestic policies, and sent him a telegram declaring their "whole-hearted support of the President and Congress in their proposal to strengthen the national defenses."

"As an indication of our support for your proposal to strengthen our national-defense forces," reads the telegram, "I transmit a resolution that was adopted unanimously. . . ."

"Adequate national defense is the outstanding and paramount issue before the American people today . . . pledges the whole-hearted support of the Association and its membership to the President and Congress for speedy increase in the strength of our army, navy and air force. . . ."

Yet already our army has been stepped up in less than a year from 188,000 to 242,000 officers and men; the navy has been made the largest in the world; the air force has been enlarged at such a rate that it threatened the policy of building planes for the Allies and production for the American army had to be slowed down; some \$10,000,000,000 has been appropriated for national defense since 1934, and the current appropriation planned, asked for, and now to be further enlarged, will involve at least a third of that amount in a single fiscal year!

ADEQUATE "ONLY" FOR DEFENSE

As Arthur Krock, head of the Washington Bureau of the New York Times, has put it: "It is admitted on all sides that the national-defense establishment is inadequate for anything save to resist invasion" (May 15, 1940). Which means that it is now being made adequate to engage in war overseas. And it is from the same issue of the New York Times that I draw the statement which every working man should paste in his hat: "The national resources—the man-power and materials (and money)—deflected to one activity must be withdrawn from another."

Our expenditure on "defense" is obviously reaching the breaking point where money must be withdrawn from social insurance, unemployment relief, housing, health, youth relief, education, wages, the

sumption could be cut by the necessary amount—about \$15,000,000,000. But there remains the other half of the problem: how to raise funds with which the government can purchase \$15,000,000,000 worth of materials for war.

Special excise and excess-profits taxes would finance only a fraction of the armament cost. The remainder must be covered, according to Mr. Frank, mainly by an income levy on people of all income groups.

As an illustration of the tax rate that would be required, Mr. Frank suggested: 2% for family incomes of \$1,000 to \$1,500; 25% for the families with incomes of \$5,000 to \$10,000; 75% for those with incomes over \$10,000.

Under the Keynes plan, borrowed by Mr. Frank, this tax would be paid partly as a contribution or loan, payable, it is hoped, after the war is over. The proportion of the total contribution credited to the taxpayer would be in inverse ratio to his income: the higher the income, the lower the proportion credited and repayable.

This plan has several advantages, in Mr. Frank's view. It would "compensate" in part the people for their war-time sacrifices by future additional incomes. It would make an anti-deflationary source of purchasing power available after the end of the war. And, finally, it would avoid, or reduce, the rise in interest rates that would occur if the war were financed mainly thru open-market Treasury issues.

However that may be, one thing is clear: War and war-financing would involve heavy cuts in mass consumption as well as drastic slashes in wages and earnings thru taxes and forced loans. It is sheer folly to imagine that any real recovery or improvement in the economic conditions of the masses can come thru

standard of living. It is obviously reaching the point where the debt limit must be raised; generations yet unborn must be saddled with a further debt in addition to the \$45,000,000,000 already shoved upon them; and new taxes must be levied to make the life of the present generation more poverty-laden and unbearable.

Is it not time that those labor leaders who are still trying to support the Roosevelt of the N.R.A. and social insurance should realize that that Roosevelt is gone forever and in his place has come the wily Roosevelt of staggering arms burdens and preparations for involvement in war? Is it not time that the leaders of the needle-trades unions and the American Labor Party ask themselves what has happened to swing the investment bankers into the same camp with them?

"The President," writes Arthur Krock in the article already cited, "not even yet is saying openly what he has said to individuals and committees of Congress. Details of the government steps in foreign policy have been farmed out to a profitable private publication instead of, as elsewhere, being officially produced. (Mr. Krock refers to the "American White Paper," by Joseph Alsop—a cousin of the President—and Robert

Kintner.—B.D.W.) For this lack of candor the incidence of the general election is largely responsible."

AND AFTER THE ELECTIONS?

But after the general election? It is time for our pro-Roosevelt labor leaders to do some soul-searching. They owe it to the labor movement to think clearly and speak frankly. They have no right to deal in hypocritical or self-deluding phrases about supporting the man who supports measures short of war when he drops ever broader hints that "short of war" is only until he is safely back for a third term.

It is time for them to ask themselves whether the duty of the American labor movement is to serve the war aims of the Allied powers, or the peace aims of the labor movement in all the warring countries, or—and this is the first duty of any American labor organization—to serve the repeatedly expressed will for peace of the mass of the American people.

Only by keeping America out of war can we protect democracy and the living standards of the workers here; only thus can America aid war-torn Europe to reconstruct itself, and aid impartially the underground movements in Germany and Italy, (Continued on page 4)

Prieto Bares Crimes Of Stalin in Spain

Loyalist Leader Tells Story of Gold Grab

(Indalecio Prieto, at one time Minister of National Defense of the Spanish Loyalist government and one of the leaders of the Spanish Socialist Party, some months ago published in Paris a pamphlet entitled "How and Why I Left the Ministry of National Defense." In this pamphlet, Prieto unmasked the abuse of power of which the Stalinists had been guilty during the Spanish civil war. He met with a barrage of attacks from the Stalinists and their agents, who, since the victory of Franco in Spain, have continued to live as emigres off the money administered by Negrin. Prieto took occasion to reply to these attacks and to make a new series of grave accusations against Stalinism, in the preface to a new edition of his pamphlet. We publish some sections of this preface below.—Editor.)

By INDALECIO PRIETO

I could make no revelation to the French government, as it already well knew:

1. That the S.E.R.E. (Service for the Evacuation of Spanish Refugees) was simply the continuation of the Negrin government, merely lacking those elements who followed their conscience and parted ways with Negrin.

2. That the Communist Party of France has handled, for the purchase of war materials, the sum of two and a half billion francs handed over by Negrin, without the least supervision over the spending of this money on the part of any functionary of the Spanish state.

3. That the S.E.R.E. tolerated the same Stalinist domination as had been tolerated by the Negrin government.

4. That the C.P.F. has retained for itself, no doubt as brokers commission, very large sums of money sent by Negrin.

5. That the propaganda of the C.P.F., first public and later underground, has been supported by money taken from the Spanish state.

6. That the C.P.F., greedy for money, doctored the books, uncontrolled by anyone, and constantly kept on asking for larger sums of Messrs. Negrin and Mendes Aspe.

7. That the communist paper, Le Soir, imitating the successful Paris-Soir, was supported by funds sent by Negrin.

8. That the twelve-ship fleet of the France Navigation Company which belonged to Spain, for these boats were purchased with Spanish money. Nevertheless, the French communists, directors of this company, have refused to return the ships, considering them as their property.

9. That one of the ships of the France Navigation Company, the Winnipeg, has been set aside by S.E.R.E. for the transportation of exiles to Chile, thus permitting the French communists to effect a nice piece of business, consisting of the very original idea of renting to the Spaniards, at a very high price, a boat which belongs to these same Spaniards.

10. That a part of the Spanish Treasury which left our territory at the time of the evacuation of Catalonia, has been kept by the French communists.

STALIN GRABS SPANISH GOLD

In the preface to the Paris edition, I referred to "some lucrative aspects of the aid given by the U.S.S.R. and the Communist parties at her service." I believe I have shown above the greed of the C.P.F. I said in the same document that the U.S.S.R. had furnished us with articles of war, not gratis, but at very high prices, and against gold shipped by Negrin in advance. Today, I might add that on August 25, 1936, at Cartagena, there was shipped to Russia 7,800 cases filled with gold, in money and bullion, consisting of the larger part of the reserves of the Bank of Spain.

Mr. Negrin, as Finance Minister, had obtained consent from the government and the signature of the President of the Republic, for a bill authorizing him to take those measures of security which he deemed

necessary for the safeguarding of the gold of the Bank of Spain. I was a member of this government, and I accept my share of the responsibility for this decision, altho neither the other ministers nor I knew what Negrin proposed to do. I do not know whether Francisco Largo Caballero, then head of the government, knew anything about it.

This gold was shipped amid the greatest secrecy. I learned of it only by accident, as I arrived in Cartagena to tend to business relating to my department—I was then Minister of Marine and Air—just at the time it was embarked, under the supervision of Messrs. Negrin and Mendes Aspe.

[Prieto then adds that, together with this gold, there left for Odessa, under the illusion that they were going to Marseilles, four employees of the Bank of Spain, taken by force to Russia so that they would be unable to tell what had happened. Later their families, too, were sent to Russia.—Editor.]

At the same time, there disappeared from the scene the high Soviet functionaries who had arranged this affair—Grinko, Minister of Fi-

Stalin's Betrayal of China Foreshadowed

Soviet Dictator Playing Own Robber Game

By J. CORK

WHAT are Stalin's intentions as to China? Far Eastern experts and correspondents are divided in answering that very important question. Some think that Russia is about to abandon China and come to an open understanding with Japan for carving out spheres of influence in China—all this as the Far Eastern part of a four-power agreement between Russia, Japan, Germany and Italy. Others tend to deny this on the ground that the alleged communist principles and socialist character of Russia, and the participation of the Communist Party of China in the united front with the Kuomintang on an anti-Japanese basis for so many years, make such a thing impossible.

The truth appears to be much nearer the first view, tho in certain respects it does not seem to be borne out by recent developments. Anti-Japanese agitation still goes on in Russia and in the Chinese communist districts. Towards the end of last year, Moscow closed all Soviet consulates in Chinese cities occupied by Japan (Peiping, Tientsin, Hankow, Shanghai). Japanese attempts to come to an understanding with Russia in regard to fishing and trade difficulties, border disputes, etc., have hitherto been rebuffed by the latter. And Russia has designs on Manchukuo, secretly planned and openly avowed. I would sum up what seems to be happening in somewhat the following fashion: Stalin is playing a lone hand in China, which does not necessarily involve Japanese cooperation or agreement; he is willing to use his new-found relationships with his European totalitarian brothers for what they may be worth to him in the Far East; he would like to see the skids put under the democratic powers; and he is, above all, engaged in extending and consolidating a sphere of influence and hegemony in China, that will continue no matter what the outcome of the Sino-Japanese conflict, or what the position of the democratic powers at the end of it, may be. That this involves the abandonment of China, and the interests of the Chinese masses, and perhaps even the further dismemberment of China, is pretty obvious, but that would present no difficulty to Stalin's cynical and brutal course of power-politics that is devoid of any shred of genuine revolutionary principle. It would merely be the Far Eastern counterpart of his western "Bruderschaft" with Hitler, something to be expected, and nothing to be surprised at.

Russia, therefore, is in control of Sinkiang and Outer Mongolia—each of them over a million square miles in area; together, larger than European Russia itself. Quite a base!

Russia has recently brought pressure upon the Chinese government for the formal relinquishment by the latter of claims to Outer Mongolia, which China has never legally given up. Chiang Kai-shek is resisting, of course, and to-date China has not agreed. If granted, might not the demand for Sinkiang come next? The demand by Russia and its rejection by China indicate probable Russian intentions as well as China's uneasy suspicions.

ROLE OF THE CHINESE C.P.

We come now to the consideration of the Chinese Communist Party, another key to the understanding of Russian intentions. For the last six months or so, relations between the C.P. and the Kuomintang have sharpened considerably. The increasing friction has expressed itself not only in political differences but even in military clashes. The recent announcement by Chiang Kai-shek at the political meeting of the Kuomintang Executive that, after negotiation, all disputes had been amicably settled may be taken with a grain of salt. It is merely a temporary truce, a lull in what seems to be a fundamental divergence that is developing rapidly.

RUSSIA IN NORTHWEST CHINA

How far Russia has extended its sphere of influence in the northwest; Manguliz, director of the Grosbank; Cagan, assistant-director; Ivanovski, representative of the Minister of Finance in the establishment of credit; Martinson, new director of the Grosbank. . . . All have been removed, some have been imprisoned, and Grinko has been shot.

An illustrated review, L'U.R.S.S. en Construction, dedicated a special number to the rise in the Soviet gold supply, showing it to be the result of the development of Russian gold mines.

No mention was made that it was Spanish gold!

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The background of the increasing friction between the C. P. and the Kuomintang is furnished by the latest change in the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. Already the People's Front line under which the C.P. of China operated for the last few years is practically abandoned. The first warning came as far back as October of last year, when Mao Tse-tung, political leader of the Chinese communists, wrote an article in the C.P. paper entitled "The New Stage in the Campaign of Resistance in the Chinese Communist Party's Policy." In this article, he said: "If any one opposes us, we are ready to oppose them. We are firmly determined to vigorously counter-attack and never show leniency against any attempt to denounce the Communist Party. . . . The projected special administration of the frontier region, including Shensi, Kansu, Ninghsia and Sinkiang, which forms a strong base for resistance, is destined to play an important progressive role in the national emancipation. . . . The issue of Kuomintang-Communist Party relations involves the possibility of disruption as well as the possibility of unification."

TOWARDS THE NEW LINE

Here was a transitional statement toward a new line, with a thinly veiled threat, and an indication of a more "independent" line for the C.P. and a geographical base for its future operations. A few months later, Mao Tse-tung, in an interview with Edgar Snow, published in the China Weekly Review of Japan of January 13 and 20, 1940, made the new line much clearer and indicated how thoroughly the change has followed and paralleled Stalin's pro-Nazi turn: "The Kuomintang represents the same class interests as before the war. . . . The center of the anti-Soviet movement is no longer in Germany but among the so-called democratic countries. . . . The C.P. is entirely independent—communists are always social-revolutionaries, never reformists. . . . For the present, the revolution is national and democratic in the character of its aims; it will after a certain stage be transformed into social revolution."

These you have the change of line complete: Russia's control of Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang; the Chinese C.P.'s control of Ninghsia, Kansu and Shensi; the increasingly "independent" line of the C.P.—all seem to point to the fact that Stalin is not to make himself master of as much of China as possible.

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AGAIN "NATIONAL UNITY"

FOR the time being, it looks as if the Administration's neat little scheme of a "coalition cabinet" for the sake of "national unity" has foundered despite the widespread war hysteria whipped up by the President and his associates. The Republican politicians don't seem to relish this particular way of committing political suicide when, for the first time in many years, things are beginning to look up again.

Yet, in its more general form, the scheme is not dead, and the issue behind it is bound to be raised again and again as the war crisis deepens in the months to come. It is part of the persistent effort of the Roosevelt Administration to silence all voices of protest and opposition to its war-making foreign policy.

It was about two years ago that the President first raised this tricky cry of "national unity." It then meant no public criticism of his hidden, unreported course of secret diplomatic maneuvering. "Politics stops at the water's edge," was the phrase he put into the mouth of Alf M. Landon and other "tame" Republicans. But this bit of patriotic "pressure" didn't work then because there were enough people in this country who believed that the "water's edge"—that is, the edge of war and peace—was precisely the point where nothing should be taken on trust, where continuous, unrestricted public criticism was most necessary. And so the "national-unity" talk died down for a while—but only for a while.

It was to be expected that with the intense excitement and alarm in this country at the Nazi victories in Europe, the Administration would trot out the old "national-unity" racket all over again—but this time with improvements, not only the "tame" Republicans, but also a "coalition cabinet" and talk of "calling off the elections," whatever that might mean. The whole business was pungently summed up by Hugh S. Johnson in his column of May 20:

"Pretty soon, Mr. Roosevelt will set up either a 'coalition cabinet' or a 'coalition emergency government' to argue that there just isn't any use bothering seriously about an election. Anybody who criticizes that will be called a war enemy to 'national unity' and hence a traitor."

We described the Administration's "national-unity" appeal as a racket, and that's just what it is—a political racket to stifle criticism and discussion of the President's foreign policy and super-arms program. In a Presidential election year, when there should be the fullest and most thorough discussion of such vital issues, the whole weight of the Administration is thrown in the opposite direction. Raise your voice in opposition or criticism and you're accused of wrecking "national unity"—you're a suspicious character, a "subversive element," if not an agent of the "Fifth Column," a German spy, or an outright traitor!

And that's what we seem to be in for while this country is still officially at peace. Just imagine what we may expect if we are dragged into war!

SOME FURTHER REFLECTIONS—I

(Continued from page 1)

But in this respect, the German and Russian military men have sinned least. The Allied military men appear to have been particularly weighed down by their achievements, successes and experiences of a war waged a quarter of a century ago. Their strategy was based on, built upon, and superimposed on the foundations of their last victory. They failed to realize that the political and economic bases of these foundations had long ago become threadbare and that, technically, these very foundations themselves were outmoded. The Germans, on the other hand, began with a clean slate. They rebuilt their military machine on an entirely new base.

German imperialism learned much more from its defeat than the Allies learned from victory. While the Allied staffs were weighed down by sentiments about successes of yesterday, the Nazis were spurred on by new principles towards the victories of tomorrow. No yesterday encumbered the Nazis and their "republican" Prussian predecessors of the Reichswehr. They utilized not only the lessons learned from their defeat in 1918, but got much out of the recent experiences in Spain, Poland, Finland and Norway, while the Allies staffs slept themselves into false security within the Maginot Line, which they assumed to be untouchable because it had for months been untouched.

From the viewpoint of military technique, the German generals started anew and were able to apply all principles, regardless of how revolutionary their import might be, to the organization of the new German army. On the other hand, the Allied staff was extremely rigid and ultra-conservative, clinging to conclusions which may have been sound in the last war, but the foundations of which had disappeared, due to new technical developments, due to new miltiposts attained by science. This attitude explains why the Allies underestimated the new role of aviation and tanks. Besides, the technical superiority of German economy, in comparison with that of the French and British, has been evident for some years. This is crushingly reflected in the battle of the Three Rivers and the drive for the Channel ports.

The French and British faith in their fortified line (the now almost forgotten Maginot Line) reminds me of the faith the feudal barons once placed in their castles. The arrival of artillery pulverized this faith along with its adherents. Tanks and aircraft are now smashing the most vaunted military line the world has ever known. The course of military events shows one thing very clearly—technical superiority is decisive. The German industrial machine is infinitely superior to those of France and England. The Nazi industrial machine is the most efficient in the world, next to America's. The savage onrush of the Nazis has been made further possible by years of welding of high industrial technique with non-dogmatic, with flexible military strategy—all on the basis of war economy (Wehrwirtschaft).

THE FOCAL PROBLEM

A NAZI victory would mean a great depressant not only to all security prizes, but to all security for workers everywhere. First of all, it would improve the conditions of the German masses at home. A victory over France or England is not the same as the conquest of Norway and Luxembourg; that is, such a victory would bring in its wake continued, ever-larger-scale arming by the German ruling class. Furthermore, such a victory would obviously lend incalculable impetus to American arming, to arming on a scale hitherto not visualized even in darkest nightmares. An America with a standing army of a million mechanized troops, equipped with the most infernal machines of modern technical progress, is a totally new America. The consequences inherent in such a situation challenge analysis but defy description.

To all of this must be added the fact that a German victory insures a Japanese-American war. It should not be considered fantastic to calculate with the United States faced by a Nazi-Japanese block—with the role of the Russians decisive in such a contingency.

Nazi chieftains have begun to speak of the next "peace" treaty—on the basis of a German victory, of course—undoing the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. There is so much involved here, there is so much history to reexamine, that for the moment we will limit ourselves to just one comment: Hitler visualizes the establishment of a sort of new "Holy Roman Empire," with German imperialism the arbiter of Europe, and the smaller states swallowed up or, at best, playing the role of vassals.

No matter how weird these calculations or fantastic these Nazi speculations may appear to many of us, they should not be dismissed or pooh-poohed. For Hitler and for the world as a whole, this war will spell for some time either total prestige or total ruin of fascism. Should he win, fascism would win tremendously. Should he lose, there are many reasons to believe that fascism will lose all, not only in Germany and Italy, but in all countries. This is true despite the headway made by

John Strachey Breaks With Stalinists:

Daily Worker and the War

By JOHN STRACHEY

(John Strachey is well-known in this country as a brilliant writer and the most persuasive apologist for Stalinism. Now Strachey has himself broken with the Stalinists, unable any longer to bear their crass pro-Hitlerism. Below we present his statement as published in the April 27, 1940 issue of the London New Statesman and Nation. The Daily Worker to which he refers is, of course, the London Stalinist paper of that name.—Editor.)

London, England
IT is necessary for those who do not accept the attitude expressed by the Daily Worker to the German invasion of Scandinavia to disassociate themselves from that attitude.

On Tuesday, April 9th, the day before the invasion, the Daily Worker expressed the view that the laying of mines by the British in Norwegian territorial waters "does not directly harm Germany in a military sense—that, indeed, it is obviously directed rather toward the general domination of Scandinavian policy by the western powers, with the principal idea of directing it against Russia." Hence, there were indications "that the German government may after all prefer to let the situation ride for the moment . . . and act diplomatically rather than militarily."

But after the German invasion, in the issue of April 13th, Frank Pitscairn wrote: "Everyone knew that if Britain invaded Norwegian territorial waters with mine-fields, the Germans would respond with counter-action. Nobody is fool enough to suppose that they would not."

The contradiction, the extreme, is not in itself particularly important. But it is decisive in the sense that it shows the nature of the argument used by Pitscairn in the same article, and by the Daily Worker on every day since the German invasion of Scandinavia. The argument is that the invasion was an inevitable, easy to foresee—and, in that sense, justified—reply to the British violation of Norwegian waters; that the whole responsibility for the spread of the war to Scandinavia, and the sufferings of the Norwegian people, rest on Britain and France exclusively and not upon Germany. The passages quoted show that this argument was resorted to only after the German invasion had taken place.

GERMAN INVASION ENTIRELY IGNORED

The whole tenor of the Daily Worker during the past weeks has expressed the above view—of the exclusive guilt of Britain and France. For example, on April 10th, the Diplomatic Correspondent began his article: "In a single day and night, British and French government wrecking of Norwegian neutrality has extended the war by nearly 1,000 miles. . . . Sweden is directly threatened. There is an immediate possibility of a British and French attempt to invade that country."

Now Is Time to Build Defense Against War

Stronger Anti-War Organization Is Needed

(Continued from Page 3)

the underground anti-war movement in France and the barely tolerated semi-illegal anti-war movement in England, and the underground anti-war movement in Stalinist Russia. Only by keeping out of the destructive and murderous mess can we help the masses of all the European lands to take their destinies into their own hands and put an end to war and the war-breeding system. Surely, helping consciously or unconsciously to cheat the will for peace of the masses here and helping a President to ride back into power under false pretenses, can only make the world a worse place to live in.

GENERAL MOBILIZATION URGENTLY NEEDED

It is time, too, for the opponents of war to begin a general mobilization of their own. The will to stay out is divided between parties, cheated and deceived by false slogans and false promises, assaulted emotionally by daily war statements intended to sweep them into a hysteria where they lose control of their thoughts and actions. The mobilization of an active vanguard of anti-war fighters can be effected during the election campaign around the candidacy of Norman Thomas. The mobilization of the great mass who are of necessity in various political camps, can and must be accomplished thru non-partisan organization, thru the trade unions, thru Labor's Anti-War Council, thru the Youth Committee Against War, thru the Farmers Union, thru the Keep America Out of War Congress and its affiliates. Their potential recruiting ground is 90% of the American people. It is the duty of the awakened to do the recruiting.

totalitarianism even in the most democratic countries. This conception must be tied up with Goebbels's chatter about Westphalia.

Today, everybody more and more recognizes (vaguely and confusedly, it is true) the need for collective operation, control, and even ownership of industry. At the same time, it appears that the number of people disdaining and depreciating democracy in political and even economic relations is increasing. Here is the focal problem of the age. It is quite a bit tied up with the defeat or victory of fascism as a state system. Our problem, our task, is to alter the trend of attitude towards democracy, to make it coincide and merge with the increasingly receptive trend towards collective operation and control of industry.

Neither in this article, nor (except by inference from an agency report that Oslo had surrendered) anywhere else on the front page of this issue of the Daily Worker, is it possible to discover that the German government had taken the slightest part in any attack on Scandinavia. It is literally true that someone who, on April 10th, took no other newspaper but the Daily Worker would have been unable to discover that on the previous day the German army had invaded Denmark and Norway. (Unless he could guess it from a phrase in the leading article: "The German imperialists struck back immediately.")

It is true that on subsequent days the Daily Worker inferred that German forces were in Norway, as, for example, on April 11th, with the headline: "British Attempt to Take Narvik Repulsed." Since then, too, the German invasion has been, by inference, repeatedly referred to and justified, by the argument that it was the British who first broke international law by laying the mine-field. But no attempt, even, has been made to answer the obvious retort that, if we are to play the not very profitable game of asking "who began it," why should we fail to mention the far more violent breach of international law which the German imperialists have been committing, in respect of Norway, since the beginning of the war, in the form of sinking 50 Norwegian ships and drowning over 1,000 Norwegian sailors?

APOLOGIZING FOR NAZI IMPERIALISM

Examples of the apologetics for the German imperialists into which the Daily Worker has fallen could be multiplied. But no one who reads, especially, the first half-dozen issues after the invasion of Norway, can possibly doubt what is the real attitude to the war of those who write and direct the newspaper. That attitude is something quite different from the characterization of this war as an inter-imperialist war; as a war fought out, that is to say, between rival imperialist groups for the revision of world power. With such a characterization of the war, for one, an agreement, (Tho, because of the special character of fascism, I do not agree that the British workers have no interest in the question of which group of imperialists is victorious.) If, for example, the Daily Worker, while consenting to report the German invasion of Norway, and even perhaps permitting itself a word of sympathy with the Norwegian people, as one latest victim of fascist aggression, had pointed out that the Germans, tho by far the most obvious aggressors, were not the only people who took aggressive action; that all imperialists, including the British and French, were aggressive; that the Norwegian people had been dragged

into the war by the encroachments on their neutrality, first of one side and then of the other, I should have comprehended. But in fact, the Daily Worker's attitude was one of apology the more complete in some ways, because tacit, for the German imperialists; it was an attitude of apology carried, on the day after the German invasion, to the fantastic lengths of refusing to report that invasion at all.

NOT ANTI-WAR BUT PRO-GERMAN

This treatment of the German invasion of Scandinavia is no more than the culminating revelation of an attitude on the part of the Daily Worker which has caused many of its readers to characterize it as not so much anti war as simply pro-German. It is being asked on all sides how the able and sincere men who write and conduct the Daily Worker can have given this impression. This is, I think, the explanation. They believe that the safety of the Soviet Union is now bound up with the success of the German government in averting defeat at the hands of the Allies, that if the Allies have any considerable growth in strength they will attack the Soviet Union.

It is this identification of the interests of the Soviet Union with the success of the German imperialists which has, in the main, driven those responsible for the conduct of the Daily Worker to take their present line. It has driven them to an interpretation of Lenin's policy of revolutionary defeatism which makes it clear, in almost every line they write, that they now care nothing for the consequences of a total defeat of Britain, France, and now Norway, in this war at the hands of the Nazi imperialists. That is what every one who is not wilfully deceiving himself must feel when he reads any of their pronouncements.

After a week of treating the news of the German invasion in the above manner, the Daily Worker of April 15th, reporting the North Batterssea elections, wrote: "All that is needed to win them firmly for Joyce is conviction that stopping the war, which they do not want, would not mean 'giving way to Hitler'."

Yes, that is all that is needed. But every line written in the Daily Worker drives me to the conviction that those controlling the Daily Worker are prepared, for the sake of what they consider to be the interests of the Soviet Union, to give way to Hitler to any extent, and that they are utterly irresponsible as to the consequences to the British people of such unlimited giving way. So long as that remains the case I, and, it seems, almost everybody else in the country, can have nothing to do with them, however much we, like all sane people, "do not want the war," and however much we may agree with them as to the general character of the war.

Letters from Our Readers:

Can the War Be Made Into A Crusade for Democracy?

New York City
Editor, Workers Age:

THE arguments for keeping America out of war will face a severe test in the near future. In my humble judgment, there is a weakness in pacifist argument that will not enable it to stand the test. That argument, as I understand it, is based on immorality of taking human life and it can be met by the argument that failure to protect human life is a more reprehensible form of taking life than the direct taking of life in war at the risk of one's own life. The pacifists, furthermore, lay themselves open to the charge that they accept all benefits of capitalistic civilization, not a few of which are stained with the blood of past wars, and only show moral scruples against bloodshed when called upon to defend these benefits.

There is, also, it seems to me, a weakness in the socialist argument for keeping out of war. Socialists, I do not believe, have ever taken the position that they will not fight under any circumstances, but that they would not fight for imperialist objectives.

At present, the European war is between possessive and aggressive imperialisms, and I am not one of those moralists who sees the mote in the aggressor's eye but does not see the beam in the possessor's eye, but one who holds that as long as there is possessive imperialism, there will be aggressive imperialism, and consequently war between them.

But may it not be folly to shut one's eyes to the possibility that this war may develop into one between forces bent on enslaving and those bent on emancipating labor? May not the wiser course be to substitute a conditional for an unconditional opposition to war and to bring all pressure in countries where public opinion can be brought to bear to make the objective of this war a democratic one, not as conceived by nineteenth-century doctrinaires, but as by believers in social and economic democracy?

I present these questions to the readers of the Workers Age with no other purpose than to correct a possible weakness in the socialist

position, before and not after it can be defended.
FRANK D. SLOCUM

Socialism Makes Real Planning Possible

Chicago Ill.
Editor, Workers Age:
A new knight in shining armor has decided to take a tilt at socialism in the lordly Quarterly Review of Ethics published by the University of Chicago. The author is Frank Knight, and he declares that socialism won't work. It is not economically feasible, he states.

The author assumes that the socialists understand the state under their jurisdiction will have a better type of human being to deal with than now prevails. The author doubts that this is likely to be true. He claims that the same boasts of socialism as a cure-all can be made of capitalism. Each is theoretically capable of making a better humanity. Mr. Knight misses the point that the people cannot wait until the capitalists get their ideas set correctly and properly. People have made up their minds that they want something done and they are moving, tho they often move blindly.

Mr. Knight considers the market mechanism of capitalism the most effective device for producing goods. Then he states that the "main cause for imperfection in the working of the market mechanism is error in productive adjustments due to the fact that individuals will not plan." "Individuals will not plan!" How can they when they have no assurance of income, no assurance that they can keep the little money that they have?

Socialism in its planning desires to arrange matters so that individuals can plan, thus removing the main cause of the failure of production, according to Frank Knight.

Individuals cannot plan on a small scale. They can when they are grouped together in an association. Socialism is planning for the future good of all.

Mr. Knight wants to blame the failure of capitalism on the common people.
CARL PETERSON

Flanders Battle Is Decisive for Nazis

Reich Must Deal Quick Knock-Out to Win

(Continued from Page 1)

ine in France and then to draw off the bulk of the German air force for a devastating blow at Great Britain from the coastal cities of the Low Countries. (At this stage, an offer of a separate peace to France might be made.) The blow at Britain would be by airplane directed at ports, industries and shipping, and by submarine directed at shipping. In the North, the blow would be by airplanes based on points in Norway, and directed at Scottish industrial cities and at any North Sea shipping.

The aim would be to paralyze British industry and to cut the lifeline of supply to the British Isles by constant bombing of shipping in the Thames. Success would depend upon absolute command of the air. The goal would be victory by Fall before great quantities from the United States could begin to tell. Time was therefore the vital and decisive factor in this strategy. Premier Reynaud stressed that aspect when he said last week: "If we hold for a month—and we shall hold for as long as it is necessary—we shall have conquered three-fourths of the road to victory." If Germany's rapid advance could be halted soon enough, and the war turned increasingly into a test of endurance, the Allied chances of ultimate victory would become very considerable again. This Hitler and his aides well realized and they were determined not to let it happen at any cost.

In the kind of war the Nazis planned, Italy's role would be determined by whether Italian troops

were needed for a diversion in southern France or for trouble-making in the Mediterranean. But last week, Italy's own position and intentions were not yet clear by any means. Many signs pointed to early entry into the war; nevertheless, it was apparent that no understanding had yet been reached with the other totalitarian power, especially with Russia, on the Balkans. And for Italy, an arrangement on the Balkans, especially on Yugoslavia, was decisive. Hampering the coordination of the Berlin-Moscow Axis with the Berlin-Rome Axis, obviously a necessary condition for Italy's entry into the war, was the growing anxiety in Moscow at Hitler's rapid and stunning successes in the West, which made him a rather dangerous partner and markedly reduced the value of Russian aid. (See Jay Lovestone's column, "Some Further Reflections," on page 1 - Editor) Keenly aware of this stringing of the Stalin-Hitler knot, Allied diplomacy pressed all efforts to break Russia—and Italy too, tho with little hope of success—from Germany. Stafford Cripps, well-known pro-Stalinist socialist, was dispatched by Churchill to Moscow on an "exploratory" mission. The prospects were not any too bright, however; most observers felt that Russia was economically and militarily too far committed to the German alliance to permit of any break at this time.

In America, the impact of Allied reverses still continued to exert its effect in official circles as well as on public opinion generally. The three billion dollar super-arms appropriation presented by President Roosevelt to Congress the week before was passed unanimously by the Senate and sent to the House. In Congress, a flood of bills directed against aliens was let loose, most of them asking for the registration or finger-printing of non-citizens. Thruout the country, an alien-baiting spy-mania began to get under way under the new slogans of protection against the "Fifth Column."

The White House announced last week that President Roosevelt would form a "defense emergency coordination group" to handle all problems resulting from the "preparedness" drive. This group will be composed of government officials and outside experts, with a representation of various interests in national life.

Britain Sets Up Full War-Time Dictatorship

(Continued from Page 1)

Complete control of national banking facilities.

Complete power to take over and make use of all property in the British Isles at the command of the government.

Atlee told the House that the powers conferred by the bill were sweeping enough to make it possible for the government to rule the country without recourse to Parliament at all, should that prove necessary.

Nothing was said specifically about civil liberties or the traditional freedoms of speech and press, but it was understood that the absolute powers conferred upon the government gave the authorities a free hand in restricting and controlling them to the degree felt necessary.

Sponsors and advocates of the bill stressed that its drastic provisions were essential to mobilize the resources of the nation to win the war.

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E. B.'s questions on the war, published in the last issue of this paper, will be discussed in full very soon. Technical reasons made it impossible to deal with these questions in the present issue, as we had promised.—Editor.